1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

22 1939), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous
241 stand.
114 In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a
361 census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

[241] D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

241 Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

114 In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at
241 least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

114 The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo
591 relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities,
614 by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

114 A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can
614 only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would
835

7: Leeds E-4, 5. (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *toŋ'bo* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b,* and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jivaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a;* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 827-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.,* 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.